CONTENTS

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ENGLISH IN NOVA SCOTIA

by

M. H. Scargill, University of Alberta

The *Original Minutes of His Majesty's Council at Annapolis Royal, 1720-1739* show some interesting examples of English. As is to be expected, the English used corresponds closely with late seventeenth and early eighteenth century British English and with American English of New England records of the same periods. The British English documents with which these *Minutes* have most in common are the *Wentworth Papers, 1705-1739* and the *Verney Letters, 1696-1717*.

(1) Vowels in stressed syllables: p. 36, *tarmes* beside *terms*, something of an archaism by this date in England; p. 295, *keept* for kept, may indicate a pronunciation with a long vowel (found also in *Wentworth Papers*); p. 159, *Livt.* beside *Levt.* (lieutenant), p. 55, *midle* for *meddle*, p. 119, *togither* show the common eighteenth century raising of the original vowel; p. 230, *Watherby* and p. 233, *Wetherby* show the frequent eighteenth century interchange of *a* with *e*.

(2) Vowels and diphthongs in unstressed syllables: The treatment of vowels and diphthongs in unstressed positions is typical of the eighteenth century, which showed a greater tendency than now to weaken *a* and *o* to *e* and to raise *e* to *i*:

    p. 6, *perticular;* p. 119, *oppertunity;*
    p. 86, *barrill;* p. 116, *deligates;*
    p. 31 and passim, *deputys;*
    p. 122, *mentain;* p. 323, *plantiff;*
    p. 44, *Servil* for *servile;*
    p. 250, *drove a shore.*

(3) Consonants:

    Loss: *strick* for *strict*, p. 118;
    Unvoicing: *askt*, p. 23;
    Preservation: *sworen* beside *sworn,* p. 47, may show preservation of the *r*.

(4) Grammatical constructions:

    p. 21, *His Excellency mouth* (rare in the eighteenth century, but the same construction is in the *Wentworth Papers*);
    p. 16, *reflections that whs cast;*
    p. 72, *was you.*

References: Nova Scotia Archives III, Halifax, 1908; H. C. Wyld, History of Modern Colloquial English, Oxford, 1953; G. P. Krapp, The English Language in America, Vol. II, New York, 1925.

TOWARD A REDEFINITION OF BILINGUALISM

by

William F. Mackey, Université Laval

Bilingualism is one of the most important problems of linguistics; yet it is also one of the most neglected. More than a quarter of a century ago certain linguists agreed that of all the problems with which linguistics was faced at the time none had more significance than those of bilingualism.[1] Yet linguists have not yet given these problems the attention they deserve. As a result, the work done in bilingualism in related fields such as education[2] has lacked the necessary linguistic foundation and guidance and has consequently led to conclusions which are often meaningless.[3]

Why has bilingualism not been the object of the detailed linguistic analyses from which other branches of linguistics have so greatly benefited? One of the reasons may be found in the very definition of bilingualism. The *Lexique de la terminologie linguistique* defines bilingualism as follows: "Qualité d'un sujet ou d'une population qui se sert couramment de deux langues, sans aptitude marquée pour l'une plutôt que pour l'autre."[4] Bloomfield refers to bilingualism as "the native-like control of two languages."[5]

This insistence on a criterion of indistinguishability from native usage has been, in my opinion, one of the greatest theoretical obstacles to the advancement of research in bilingualism. In the first place as Bloomfield admits—it is impossible to define the degree of perfection at which a good foreign speaker becomes bilingual. Secondly, not all native speakers are equally perceptive; not all have the same richness of vocabulary or versatility of structure. Thirdly, absolute equality in the mastery of two languages is very rare indeed; some observers—among them Albert Schweitzer[6]—state that any belief in such equality is only self-deception. As a test, "perfect" bilinguals have been asked to compute with equal facility and rapidity in two languages or likewise to designate all the kitchen utensils or all the tools in a carpenter's kit.

In this article I should like simply to point out that there is more to bilingualism than the equal mastery of two languages, and to suggest how a re-definition could lead to a systematic classification of the complexities involved in the use of two or more languages.

To begin with, there are many types of bilinguals. There are those who are "at home" in two languages; those who speak a second language fluently with some of the features (sounds, structure or vocabulary) of their native language, and those who speak both languages differently from the unilinguals in the same area. There are also those who have a mastery of the syntax and vocabulary of two languages and of the pronunciation of only one;

those
but an
syntax
differe
count

Bi
Perso
whose
a con
used."

Th
perien
than
may
There
Tits o
he ha
War.
langu
langu
of th
Spani
in her

Th
social
to Jes
Eskim

So
allegia
distric
less w
the la
they h
such f
into F
Flemis
suffixe
bilingu
genera
States

An
made
of both
as bili
langu
Gipsie

Th
langu
speak

those who have a mastery of the pronunciation of both languages, but an incomplete or imperfect knowledge of the vocabulary and/or syntax of the second language; and those who have an equal but different vocabulary in both languages—those, for instance, who count in one language and pray in another.

Bilinguals, moreover, are not equally bilingual at all times. Persons who have made detailed linguistic observations of children whose parents make continual use of two languages have recorded a continual vacillation in the skill with which each language is used.[7]

Those who become bilingual through environment also experience periods in which one language becomes more prominent than the other. When this process continues in one direction it may eliminate one of the languages—even the mother tongue. There are cases on record where this has actually happened. Désiré Tits of Brussels experimented with a six-year-old Spanish girl whom he had adopted as a refugee from Madrid during the Spanish Civil War. After living ten months with Tits without any formal language instruction the child had completely changed her native language from Spanish to French. The French she spoke was that of the children of French-speaking families in Brussels. Her Spanish, however, she had completely forgotten after only 93 days in her new environment.[8]

There are also cases of children learning the language of their social environment before that of their parents. Thus, according to Jespersen, children of Danish parents in Greenland used to learn Eskimo before learning Danish.[9]

Some parents may have their children change their "linguistic allegiance" (Martinet), for social or economic reasons. In certain districts in Belgium, according to Grauls,[10] the children of certain less wealthy Flemings may be sent to French schools—French being the language of the more wealthy minority. At the age of twenty they have French as their most usual language; and it may remain such for the rest of their lives—especially if they happen to marry into French families. Eventually all that may be left of their Flemish is a number of stereotyped expressions and a few diminutive suffixes—a condition which is characteristic of the final phases of bilingualism. Such is also the linguistic history of the second generation of many immigrant families in Canada and the United States.

Another problem of definition arises out of the distinction often made between language and dialect. Is a person who has mastery of both the standard speech and of a regional dialect to be classed as bilingual? Or is a person who has mastery of both the common language and of a secret language such as existed among the Gipsies or the Irish thieves?[11]

There is also the question of the social status of the various languages in a community. Berber men in Morocco are said to speak both Berber and Arabic, whereas their women speak only

Berber. In Sanskrit drama, women and slaves speak a Prakrit. In Burma the offspring of marriages between Burmese women and Chinese men used to be taught Chinese if male, Burmese if female. A similar situation which used to exist among the natives in the Caribbean was due to the fact that the invading Caribs killed their Arawak enemies and took their women as captives. The women spoke Arawak and taught the language to their daughters. Their sons, however, were taken at an early age on long hunting voyages by their fathers, from whom they learned Carib.

Finally, there is the question of linguistic change undergone by one language in contact with another. This includes the study of loan words and of phonemic and structural influences. It is in the field of loan words that linguists have been most active. The type and number of words which bilinguals borrow will depend largely on the type of words which exists in their mother tongue and also on their syntagmatic patterns. Some languages differ in structure from the languages with which they come in contact to such an extent that they find it easier to create new words out of their own resources for objects which come into their culture already labeled in another language. Linguists have identified many different types of loan words, ranging from wholesale borrowings to formal creations patterned on the vocabulary of the lending language.[10] Words may be taken from one class in the lending language and appear in an entirely different class in the borrowing language. For example, English participles *parking, smoking,* and *dancing* are nouns in French. Liquor made from rubbing alcohol is called *la robine* (rubbing) in parts of French Canada, and those who make a habit of drinking it are called *les robineux.* Two speech communities speaking the same language may introduce the same words from the same language and classify it differently. For example, *gang* in Canadian French is generally feminine, whereas in France it is masculine (according to R. Frey in *Das englische Lehnwort im modersten Französisch,* Zürich, 1943, p. 65). Moreover, in France the word has criminal associations, whereas in French Canada it has simply a social connotation, being used in such expressions as *toute la gang* to express the idea of a group of persons. Words do not always keep all their meaning when they enter another language. In their original vocabulary, words have associations with other words. When adopted into another language, another environment, they lose their associative value, at least in part, or may be borrowed only in some "okkasionell" (Paul) meaning. They may even acquire associations with another and generally different set of ideas, thus developing a new meaning. The word *boys* in Canadian French is always used in the plural, in such expressions as *allons les boys*—not with the same general meaning as the plural of the English *boy,* but rather in a particular sense to that of the word *fellow* as used in certain types of American English. Sometimes loan words will permanently replace the native word, but will be consciously used by bilinguals as a foreign word. According to a worker on the Linguistic Atlas of Rumania, many

informants did not know certain terms in their mother tongue but gave the foreign word, always pointing it out as such. This happened even in the case of very old and well accepted loan words, for the bilinguals recognized their origin. In such cases the bilingual purist will often replace these accepted loan words by others composed out of the linguistic material of his mother tongue. Many English words which have been current in France for a very long time are shunned as Anglicisms by bilingual French Canadians, who recognize their origin. In Canadian French, for example, the *week-end* is invariably *fin de semaine;* in France it is *week-end.*

If individual concepts of phonemes affect the development of phonematic systems, then bilingualism is a factor in the history of sound changes. In communities with a high degree of bilingualism these sound changes may result in a phonematic leveling such as has taken place in the Balkans, where cultural demands and linguistic promiscuity have produced a situation in which bilinguals may pass from one language to another without altering their phonetic pattern. Of course, if bilingualism affects the speech of a bilingual in a monoglot community, the change will probably go no further. But if it affects a large section of a bilingual community it may leave a permanent mark on one of the languages. A single phoneme, introduced from a foreign language or from a related dialect may upset the whole phonemic pattern of a language. The introduction of a large number of words from another language may involve a change in the relative frequency of the sounds and sound clusters of the borrowing language. When bilinguals "talk with an accent", changing the allophones of phonemes, making slight alterations in consonant clusters, or introducing other subtle peculiarities, which generally go unnoticed, they contribute to the evolution of the phonemic structure of the languages they speak in the communities in which they speak them. It is quite usual for bilinguals to adapt the foreign sound in some degree to the phonematic system of the borrowing language. What determines the degree of adaptation is not yet known. What is known is that there are different degrees of adaptation. In French Canada the English voiced and voiceless inter-dental fricatives are generally sounded as dental plosives, whereas in France they are rendered as alveolar fricatives. In the English of French Canadians the tendency is to stress the modifier of such combinations as *first base*, with a falling tone on the substantive; whereas the English of persons from France shows a tendency to stress the substantive—often with a rising tone.

The question of structural changes due to bilingualism has been, for the most part, neglected. From the observation of certain pattern disturbances in languages exposed to a high degree of bilingual contact it would seem that there is good evidence of pattern borrowing. The disturbances go generally in one direction, and leave traces only under certain historical conditions the nature of which are yet to be determined. The Norman Conquest of England helped speed up the decay of inflectional endings which had started in Late Old English. This in turn facilitated the assimilation of

7

hundreds of French words. Imitation of a few structural elements may cause changes in the entire structure of the imitating language. Capidan cites the case of the bilinguals of Meglen, north of Macedonia, who have started to discard the morphological system of their mother tongue. Incidentally, he also suggests that common influences have contributed to the similarity of linguistic patterns which we find in the Balkan languages.

When languages have been in contact for a long enough period of time we know that, under certain conditions, they may become fused into a single language. This is the case of many of the creolized languages. In the past there must also have existed mixed languages which are today extinct. In the development of mixed languages there is nearly always a transition period of bilingualism. The population of the bilingual Rumanian town of Barovitza, for example, has become so Slavonicized that there exists a number of persons who speak one mixed language and no other.[13]

There are communities like those in the Banat, where persons make daily use of more than two languages; some are familiar with three, four and even more languages. The word *bilingualism* hardly describes their case. There is really need for a word which would not limit the number of languages spoken, but would simply denote the use of more than one language. In German there is the term *Mehrsprachigkeit;* in English a term like *plurilingualism* or *multilingualism* would indeed be useful.

It is evident from the foregoing that the problem of bilingualism involves a great deal more than the equal mastery of two languages and that such a limited and absolute concept cannot take into account the many and varied phenomena which result from the co-existence of two or more languages in a single community or in a single individual. It cannot take into account the degree of proficiency, the vacillation in skill, the social function, status and pressures of the various languages and their influence upon one another.

The solution to the problem of definition is to consider bilingualism (or multilingualism) not as an absolute but as a relative concept. The question should not be simply "Is a person bilingual?," but rather "How bilingual is he?" It is significant that the few important advances that have recently been made in bilingual research have been based on a much more inclusive concept of bilingualism than has been usual up to now. Nevertheless, there is no agreement, even among specialists in the subject, on exactly what bilingualism should include. Weinreich considers bilingualism as "the practice of alternatively using two languages."[14] Haugen is more inclusive—"Anyone who has learned to understand a second language is a bilingual."[15] And a recent report of the Modern Language Association of America goes so far as to state that anyone who can use a single expression in a foreign language is to that extent bilingual.[16] With no ready means of measuring how much or how well a second language is known surely bilingualism should not be limited to a question of degree. Definition should be limited

5

to the kind of activity—the use of two (or more) languages. Such a definition would put the subject on a more stable theoretical basis and would open the way to a systematic measurement of the *degree* of bilingualism. It would lead to classifications which could include the following divisions:

1. *The number of languages involved.*

   With a term like *multilingualism* or *plurilingualism* the field would not be limited to the use of only two languages; it would include the use of any number of languages by a community or by an individual. For there are individuals who make constant use of as many as eight languages.

2. *The type of languages used.*

   Which languages are they and what is the relationship between them? The close relationship of a dialect like Hamburg Plattdeutsch and Standard North German? The relationship of languages belonging to the same group, combinations like Spanish and Italian; or the relationship of pairs like English and French, German and Russian, which belong to the same Indo-European family? Or is there no genetic relationship at all—as between German and Hungarian. Even genetically unrelated languages, however, may have structural similarities which can produce some far-reaching effects on the speech of bilinguals.

3. *Influence of one language upon another.*

   (a) *Phonetic and phonemic influences.*

   As we have seen there seems to be a considerable amount of evidence of phonetic influences in bilingual communities. Conversely the influence of bilingualism has sometimes been given as an explanation for certain sound changes. We must suppose a high degree of bilingualism, for instance, when we state that the fronting of the Latin [u:] to the French [y], as in L. *murus* > F. *mur*, was due to the pronunciation habits of the Gauls. It has even been claimed that speakers in some bilingual communities may have a single set of phonemes for both languages.[17]

   (b) *Lexical influences.*

   These influences have already been studied rather thoroughly as far as the record of the facts is concerned; but it is only recently that any suitable system of classification has been developed.[18]

   (c) *Structural influences.*

   This type of influence has been very little studied. Structural influences may be determined along the lines of compatibility, structural function, class-size and frequency.[19]

4. *Degree of proficiency.*

   Proficiency may range from an ideal native-like mastery

of two or more languages to an imperfect use of two or more languages. The degree of proficiency in each language could be measured. In each language there is also the gap between comprehension and expression, which should also be measured. The study of this involves the working out of proficiency scales. Existing scales are few, and none is entirely satisfactory, since they measure only certain types of linguistic activity and consequently do not give a complete picture.[20]

5. Vacillation.

The histories of bilingual communities would reveal continual changes in the skill with which each of the languages is spoken. A person may start life with one native language and end up with another. There are cases of children becoming so skilled in the newly acquired language that it assumes the functions of their mother tongue. A bilingual individual at different periods of his life may show more preference for one language than for the other. He may even make a conscious effort to keep his languages at the same level.

6. Social function.

We have seen that each language in a multilingual community or individual may have a different social function. We may determine the sort of persons with whom a member of a bilingual or multilingual community uses each of his languages. A grocer, for example, may be inclined to use the language which he thinks his bilingual customer prefers. A labourer may speak his dialect at home and among friends, but use the standard language when addressing the local teacher, lawyer or doctor. He may even insist that his children use the standard language at all times. A bilingual technician may prefer to speak about his specialty in his second language or, when speaking about it in his mother tongue, he may interlard his speech with the technical terms of his second language. Many an immigrant has tried to avoid using his mother tongue in addressing his children so as to make sure they acquire the language of the new country without interference.

Bilingualism (or multilingualism) is a complex subject which requires a system of classification and a body of theory to give direction to research and to integrate its results. After these requisites are developed, bilingualism will no longer be regarded as a linguistic oddity but as a practice common enough to be studied —alongside such fields as phonetics and dialectology—as a separate branch of linguistics.

[1]Hug
[2]Fur
F. Mach
introduce
[3]For
Experin
[4]J. M
[5]Leo
[6]In A
[7]Jule
1913.
Milliv
enfant a
Wern
Chicago,
[8]Dési
materne
[9]Otto
[10]J. O
Communi
[11]Cf.
[12]Cf.
au quesi
[13]Th.
[14]Urk
[15]In I
[16]"Th
(1955), p
[17]Mor
Languag
1941.
[18]Ein
[19]Will
[20]M. I
Pierre
D. J.
R. H.
P. R., 19
Willia
Vol. VIII

NOTES

1 Hugo Schuchardt-Brevier, Halle, 1928.

2 Further comment on educational research in bilingualism may be found in William F. Mackey, "Bilingualism and Education," Pédagogie-Orientation, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1952, the introduction of which has been expanded into the present article.

3 For a new approach to the problem see W. F. Mackey and J. A. Noonan, "An Experiment in Bilingual Education," English Language Teaching, Vol. 6, No. 4.

4 J. Marouzeau, Lexique de la terminologie linguistique (3e édition), Paris, 1951.

5 Leonard Bloomfield, Language, New York, 1933, p. 56.

6 In his meinem Leben und Denken, Leipzig, 1932.

7 Jules Ronjat, Le développement du langage observé chez un enfant bilingue, Paris, 1913.

Milivoie Pavlovitch, Le langage enfantin; acquisition du serbe et du français par un enfant serbe, Paris, 1920.

Werner F. Leopold, Speech Development of a Bilingual Child, 4 vols. Evanston and Chicago, 1939–1950.

8 Désiré Tits, Le mécanisme de l'acquisition d'une langue se substituant à la langue maternelle chez une enfant espagnole âgée de six ans, Bruxelles, 1948, p. 36.

9 Otto Jespersen, Language—Its Nature, Development and Origin, London, 1922, p. 122.

10 J. Grauls, Ve Congrès international des linguistes, (Bruges, 1939), Résumés des Communications, p. 23.

11 Cf. R. A. S. Macalister, Secret Languages of Ireland, London, 1937.

11 Cf. Werner Betz, "Zur Erforschung des 'inneren Lehnguts'," Ve Congrès, Réponses au questionnaire, p. 33.

12 Th. Capidan, Ve Congrès, Réponses, p. 36.

14 Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact, New York, 1953, p. 1.

15 In his review of the above in Language, Vol. 30, No. 3, p. 380.

16 "The MLA Foreign Language Program," Modern Language Journal, Vol. 39, No. 4 (1955), p. 198.

17 Morris Swadesh, "Observations of Pattern Impact on the Phonetics of Bilinguals," Language, Culture and Personality, Essays in memory of Edward Sapir, Menasha, Wis., 1941.

18 Einar Haugen, "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing," Language, Vol. 26, No. 2.

19 William F. Mackey, "Bilingualism and Linguistics Structure," Culture, N. N. XIV.

20 M. N. H. Hoffman, The Measurement of Bilingual Background, New York, 1934.

Pierre Bovet, Bilinguisme et éducation, Genève, 1932.

D. J. Saer, F. Smith, and J. Hughes, The Bilingual Problem, Aberystwyth, 1928.

R. H. Fife and H. T. Manuel, The Teaching of English in Puerto Rico, San Juan, P. R., 1951, Pt. II.

William F. Mackey, "English Teaching in Puerto Rico," English Language Teaching, Vol. VIII, No. 1.

11

PHONEME DISTRIBUTION AND FUNCTIONAL YIELD

by

James St. Clair-Sobell, University of British Columbia

It is well known that to make a satisfactory description of the sound system of a language it is necessary to go beyond the enumeration and characteristics of the various phonemes used in the phonological system of the language. This implies, among other things, determination of the positions in the word in which the phonemes may or may not occur and the amount of use made, or functional yield, of these phonemes.

If we compare German and nearly all the Slavonic languages with English and French we find that the phonematic opposition between the voiced and the unvoiced consonant phonemes is not used in the same way. In English and French the voice-voiceless opposition has phonological relevancy in all positions in the word, initial, medial and final, e.g. back—pack, matter—madder, beau—peau, rater—rader, coûte—coude. In German and in most Slavonic languages the voice-voiceless phonematic opposition cannot be used at the end of the word, where it is said to be neutralised in this position and the sound uttered and heard in the position of neutralization is the unvoiced member of the correlative pair (i.e. of the archiphoneme), e.g. German Bad cf. Bade, Russian rod cf. roda. These are simple, well-known cases. There are linguistic systems where the removal of the phonological opposition of voice occurs in other positions of the word, for instance in Mordvinian, where the position of neutralization is the beginning of the word. Such centrifugal neutralizations occur quite commonly in linguistic systems and indeed sometimes affect both extremes of the word. This is the case with the two hissing sibilant phonemes of German. The voiced sound occurs at the beginning of the word to the exclusion of /s/; and /s/ occurs at the end of the word to the seclusion of /z/, e.g. singen, Singers. The position of relevancy for these voiced-unvoiced phonemes is medial intervocalic, e.g. lassen—lasen, hassen—Hasen, Rassen—rasen.

The Russian language has a small stressed vowel inventory (five only in comparision with over a dozen in French), but a rather extensive consonantal inventory. This is chiefly due to the phonological feature of palatalization. If we take as an illustrative example the two /t/'s of Russian, the "hard" or normal and the "soft" or palatalized and examine their occurrence, we find out some interesting facts. First, let us consider these two phonemes, in initial position, before the five vowels; /ta, tu, ti, te, to/ and /t'a, t'u, t'i, t'e, t'o/. There is a striking disparity in the distribution of these two typical hard-soft phonemes. The hard /t/ does not occur with /e/ at all, but it occurs quite normally with the other vowels.

12

Soft /t/ hardly ever occurs before /u/, and when it does it is either expressive or of alien origin. If this type of examination is carried further with other correlative pairs of phonemes the same conditions will be found. Now let us turn our attention to another position, to the end of the word, or more precisely to the end of the root morpheme; here soft /t/ is perfectly normal in combination with /u/, e.g. *z'at'-z'at'u* "son-in-law—to the son-in-law" that is, at the morpheme suture. From the above simple example it will be seen that (a) there is by no means equality in the distribution of the consonant phonemes before vowels; (b) that the question of position in the morphemic complex is important. For French it is worth mentioning that the phoneme /t/ occurs normally before the vowels except before /oe/, where it occurs in the expressive word *teuf-teuf* "puff-puff". The restriction in the distribution of French consonantal phonemes is understandably not as great as that of Russian, where, by a principle of compensation, this language with its abundance of consonantal phonemes will necessarily tend to impose some restrictions on their occurrence in combination with vowels.

Spanish and Italian and German have good examples to illustrate the importance of the position of a phoneme in the word. Spanish has two trill phonemes /r/ and /rr/, but they occur as discrete phonemes only in intervocalic position. In final and initial position one of the trill realizations occurs to the exclusion of the other, e.g. *hallar, río*. A similar case is observed in standard Italian where the phonematic voice-voiceless opposition of the hissing affricates /ts-dz/ is relevent only intervocalically and when following /r/, /n/, e.g. *prezzo—mezzo, sforzo—orzo, partenza—manzo*. In initial position and after /l/ the one-dimensional opposition between these two phonemes is neutralized and the sound heard is [dz] initially e.g. *zio, zenzero*, and [ts] after /l/ e.g. *alzo, calza*, i.e. both members of the archiphoneme occur under determining conditions (of the consonants only /r, n, l/ are synchronic with this phoneme). It is worth noting in this case that, because of the complex nature of the pair of affricate phonemes, not much functional yield is drawn from their voice-voiceless opposition e.g. *mezzo* /dz/ "half", *mezzo* /ts/ "soft", *lazzo* /dz/ "sharp", *lazzo* /ts/ "grimace". Indeed in some forms of Italian no phonological relevancy is attached to the realization with or without voice. The phonemes must be regarded as of peripheral importance to the Italian system.

In German the opposition between /s/ and /ʃ/ is phonological medially and finally, e.g. *hassen—haschen, vermiss—vermisch*. In clusters with /t/, the position of the cluster in the morpheme is the factor that determines which sound of the two sibilants will be uttered. In initial position only /ʃt/, e.g. *stehen*, in final position only /st/, e.g. *Rast, Hast*. If substitution of the sibilants takes place, i.e. abnormal combination in the respective positions, the words affected may acquire an abnormal character, e.g. *Wurst—Wurscht*.

Now let us choose an example for functional yield. A good instance is provided by the English voiced phoneme /ð/ in initial

position. The phoneme occurs in words of a demonstrative nature and its use in initial position is restricted to a smallish group, i.e. *this, that, those, these, they, them*, etc. We may say that this English phoneme carries a small functional burden. This restriction is of importance in characterizing the phonematic structure of English morphemes belonging to the demonstrative class. Limitation of functional occurrence of the phoneme /ð/ should not, of course, be confused with frequency in speech occurrence. In this case the speech occurrence of /ð/ is extremely high because of the semantic nature of the words in which it occupies initial position. It is a matter of the statistical frequency in the "langue" compared with the statistical frequency in "langage". Similar samples are /hw/ in English interrogative words—*when, where, why, which*, etc. (in that form of English with the 'h' pronunciation), and the initial cluster /kt/ in interrogatives in Polish *kto, który*.

We may learn much about the structure of language by observing the way in which two or more consonants occur in combination. In native English the combination /kt/ does not occur at the end of a morpheme, but it does occur as a result of the addition of the morpheme of past time to the root verbal morpheme, e.g. *I have backed* /kt/. When it occurs at the end of a single morpheme, it is an indication that the word in question is a foreign (chiefly Latin) borrowing, e.g. *pact, elect, sect*. The combination of the voiceless velar spirant with /n/ in initial position in Russian is rare and indeed clearly marks the morpheme in which it occurs as (a) an alien borrowing as in *khna* "henna" or (b) an expressive word as in *khnikat'* "to whimper," "to snivel." When the combination occurs medially, it is bimorphematic, i.e. divided between the end of one morpheme /kh/ and the beginning of the following morpheme /n/, e.g. *bukhnut'*. Abnormal combinations of phonemes also frequently occur in what we might call "abnormal" words, such as interjections and words used to command animals.

In Russian, sequences with palatal stops and /i/ are common, e.g. *kinut kit* etc.; the velar stop is, however, abnormal and surely enough occurs in such utterances as *kys-kys* (for calling cats), *kyš-kyš* (for shooing away birds). There are many examples of this kind in the various languages.

Consonantal clustering considered in terms of morpheme position and in terms of word position where bimorphematic considerations may have to be taken into account is an extremely important factor in the description of the character of a language. In this conception I mention the interesting findings of the Czech scholars Mathesius and Trnka. In studying words containing at most four phonemes they found that German presents only about twenty different initial consonant clusters, but has more than double that number at the end of the word. Czech, on the other hand, shows a marked dislike for end clusters and a great willingness to use them initially. The proportions for the two linguistic systems are German 21-47, Czech 160-16. The physiognomy of the two systems is diversely character-

ized by this structural feature in a striking manner. English has consonantal combinations of a greater variety than German in initial and final positions, the figures being 43 initial groups and 64 final groups. German has, however, a prodigous number of consonantal clusters in another position, viz. the bimorphematic medial where the last consonant or consonants meet the first consonant or consonants of the following morpheme, e.g. *Schwarzwald*, *anstreben*. Investigation of the nature and the place of occurrence of clusters is an essential part of the whole task of establishing the typology of genetic linguistic systems and for describing the more sharply detailed individual language character. Markedly opposite characteristics from German are seen in Italian where not only no consonant clusters whatsoever may occur at the end of a word but, indeed, only the single consonants /l, r, m, n/ and those have a very light functional burden, *il*, *con*, *per*, *in*, etc. Italian has on the other hand an extensive array of clusters occurring in medial and initial positions.

Representing another typological extreme is monosyllabic Burmese in which no consonantal clusters at all exist and no consonant is allowed at the end of the word. Japanese, though otherwise quite unlike Burmese, has no clusters except /n/ and /m/ followed by the isotopic oral consonants, as in *Shinto*. Because of this lack of consonant clusters in Japanese, *Berlin* is represented by *Berulinu*, *Christ* by *Kirisuto*, *club* by *Kurubu*, and so on.

In these cases the Japanese are unable to perceive any cluster as they do not have one in their own language and accordingly they perceive a non-cluster, i.e. they intercalate a vowel. In this connection it is interesting to observe that English-speaking students of Russian do precisely the same thing with Russian initial clusters which are lacking in initial position in English. For instance, the beginner is asked to utter the sequence *knogam* "to the feet". Almost invariably he will insert an indeterminate vowel between the /k/ and the /n/ because the cluster [kn] is unknown to modern English in initial position, e.g. *knee*, *knife*, etc.

As Trubetzkoy has so brilliantly shown in one of his last studies "Wie soll das Lautsystem einer künstlichen internationalen Hilfssprache beschaffen sein?" it is not only necessary to select the phonemes for the international language with great discrimination but also essential to study the various systems of phoneme position, cluster and cluster position. The well-intentioned makers of Esperanto, Ido, Novial, Volapük and the like have produced abortive creations which are, because of the sound features they contain, unpractical and unusable by the mass of the peoples of the world. Quite apart from the fact that the artificial languages are made up of chiefly Germanic and Romanic lexic elements which are totally unknown to the majority of the world's population who stand mostly in need of an auxiliary international language, no attention has been paid in the creation of artificial languages up to now to a judicious selection of phonemes commonly known to

15

all or almost all languages of mankind nor to the matter of distribution and clustering of phonemes.

References.

N. S. Troubetzkoy: **Principes de Phonologie**, Paris 1949.

G. Porru: **Anmerkungen über die Phonologie des Italienischen.** TCLP, No. 1 Prague 1939.

N. S. Trubetzkoy: **Wie soll das Lautsystem einer künstlichen internationale Hilfssprache beschaffen sein?** TCLP, No. 8, Prague 1939.

V. Mathesius: **Zum Problem der Belastungs—Und Kombinationsfähigkeit der Phonem** TCLP, No. 4, Prague 1937.

B. Trnka: **General Laws of Phonemic Combinations**, TCLP, No. 6, Prague 1936.

THE IMPLICATION OF TAPE RECORDING IN THE
FIELD OF DIALECT GEOGRAPHY

by

Rex Wilson, Illinois

Since the close of the Second World War a number of efficient and relatively inexpensive light-weight electrical recording machines using cheap plastic tape have come onto the market. It is rather surprising that dialect geographers have not used these machines to a greater extent in the field, for limited field experience indicates that dialect investigators can expect to benefit greatly when the potentialities of these machines are properly exploited.

Tape machines have so far been used chiefly to obtain "canned" speech samples from informants to assist in the interpretation of the field records which they supplement. Such use of the recorder has been made by Harold B. Allen, Director of the *Linguistic Atlas of the Upper Midwest,* who has tried to provide a half-hour recording of a "free" speech sample to go along with each of his field records. The informant is questioned only enough to get him launched on some topic that strikes his fancy. The sample so obtained is used in the search for forms and structures not readily obtainable in the interview, and in checking the transcription of the field worker when the time comes to edit the materials.

A similar technique is mentioned by Lester W. J. Seifert as appended to the later stages of his German Dialect Survey in Wisconsin.[1] This application is a step in the right direction, but it is an advance only in economy and convenience over the old style sample-disk recordings which accompanied early *Atlas* work in New England.

A slight improvement over this technique resulted from the writer's naive assumption that a parallel electrical recording of the whole interview would constitute adequate utilization of the tape machine. This procedure was used in nine interviews conducted in Nova Scotia in the summer of 1952. The results have been satisfactory, but disappointment lies in the realization that further advantages should have been foreseen and exploited.

It was clear upon playing back the record of the first session that full use was not being made of the resources of the machine, and an immediate attempt was made to adapt the interviewing style to the new conditions. Although only an improvization, this proved profitable.

The following advantages are clearly implied:

(1) *Rapport is improved.*

There are objections to electrical recordings as a psychological hazard in field work. The machine, it is said, "sets up an artificial

17

situation". Experience has shown that, artificial or otherwise, the machine usually provides a situation which stimulates interest and cooperation. Even with the occasional self-conscious person, the machine is a help as an unobtrusive observer. The writer's machine will run for an hour without attention; it can be started and ignored, and the microphone can be placed in a more or less concealed position and forgotten. Incidentally, native informants in Nova Scotia are far less bashful about recording their voices than are some of the supposedly more sophisticated ones found in college communities, and they delight in hearing a playback.

The new recording situation adds no perceptible extra hazard of strangeness to the interview. Even with the most highly trained and experienced field worker the interview presents an unnatural situation for the recording of speech. What more awesome could there be in this day than a stranger in your kitchen writing down everything you say in a big black book, and in a "language" you do not understand? Is it any wonder that at least one field worker has been taken into custody under suspicion of espionage?

(2) *The Field worker is liberated.*

Closely allied to the psychological advantage is another aid to interviewing whose effect is directly felt only by the field worker, although the result is one of general ease in the whole interview. This is the liberation of the interviewer from the necessity of close attention to a large number of details so that he may pay attention to a selected group of problems and observations, and, more important, give more attention to the informant.

With the machine it is unnecessary to write down much that had to be transcribed before, so the interviewer has no excuse for preoccupation and long uneasy pauses between queries. Instead he can appear more in the guise of an intelligent and interested new acquaintance. There is no longer any necessity for that sort of internal debate, from which young field workers suffer especially, as to whether that was a raised and fronted low mid vowel, or a backed low front; the machine has it and will oblige with unlimited repetitions at your leisure.

(3) *More pertinent material is gathered.*

The machine's comprehensive memory assures the interviewer of a complete sound record of the interview. The quantity and diversity of the material thus gained goes far beyond what even the best field worker could hope to retain and record. With the machine it will be possible to consider objectively in the study of laboratory matters which were beyond the scope of accurate description in the field. Intonation and stress will be available for close consideration, and on the syntax level whole utterances will be preserved in the conversational matrix of the interview which could never have been elicited by direct questioning. And in every case the utterance will be complete in its context. There need no longer be any question as to how an item was "framed" or whether or not it might inadvertently have been suggested.

(4) The interview is speeded up.

The speed with which an interview slips along, unhurried, is startling. Very early, interviewers realized that many notes and comments, various indications of the informant's attitude and intonation, were not needed in writing as long as the machine was backing up the field worker, so that, from the very earliest interviews in this set, speed was noticeably ahead of expectation.

The fourth of the nine records is illustrative. The informants, an active farmer in his eighties, was interviewed in two evening sessions after busy working days. He was an interested and generous informant, but tired and therefore not always alert. Yet the record, consisting of 399 items, took up only two hours and 22 minutes of the informant's time. Contrast this with the writer's shortest interview up to that time, made in Nova Scotia in 1950. The work was then based on a slightly augmented form of the short worksheets which contained 645 items.[3] The informant on this occasion was a lively woods guide of about seventy, who responded rapidly and eagerly, so that we were able to finish in one extended sitting of just six hours. The 1952 recording average was thus 169 items an hour, the 1950 only 107.

We may further adjust the 1952 figure when we consider that due to inexperience there was a good deal of "dead air" in the recording, representing the writing down of the supposed minimum phonetic transcription. Most of this was unjustified; an interview can be developed in which there are no obvious pauses for written transcription. In timing dead air only those pauses are counted which followed a response and preceded the next query. Pauses while the informant reflected were not included. Within these limitations just under 20 per cent of the interview time was dead air, indicating that with a questionnaire of 400 items a two-hour interview is possible.

(5) Time is saved—for the informant.

As far as the field worker or the director of an atlas project is concerned, the economy of time implied by the figures just given cannot be relied on as a factor in planning a survey. At this stage the effect of a speedier interview can only be conjectured. Experience has shown that under present methods a field worker in a wide-mesh survey can expect to complete two and a half records a week on an average, using the short worksheets of the *Linguistic Atlas*. Six hours of recording time is considered good for the completion of such a record. Does the use of the machine imply a new factor which will permit us to multiply the average numbers of interviews per week by two or even three? Unfortunately, no.

If we were governed only by the mathematics of interviewing time, we could say to a field worker, "You are on a 40-hour week. Your communities are about 30 miles apart. With due allowance for travelling time you should be able to produce five records a week at eight hours per record. If you use the machine, your

19

capacity is now doubled. Let us say, then, that you will be expected to produce ten records a week."

Obviously there are flaws in this approach. Field workers do not now produce five records a week, nor do they "work" a 40-hour week. Their hours can at best be called "irregular". These calculations do not take into account the job of locating and convincing the informant or the time absorbed in waiting upon the informant's convenience to conduct the interview. The writer has arrived in a town on a Saturday afternoon and been on his way again on Tuesday night with two interviews completed, but he has also spent three days waiting to complete an interview with a desirable informant.

The recording machine offers nothing which can control these time factors; but, by enabling the field worker to ask for much less of the informant's time, it could aid very greatly in the initial phases. Two or three hours is clearly less formidable to the informant than the apparently pointless waste of from six to eight hours of his time. The shorter time, too, is a great advantage in dealing with older informants whose staying power is often limited. The present type of interview often has to be divided into three or more sessions instead of the usual two.

The shortened time may make the one-sitting interview the rule rather than the heroic exception; but this is not necessarily an advantage. A better record would presumably result from a short initial session which the field worker could review before returning for the final session. However, the possibility of one interview would often be an advantage.

DISADVANTAGES

There are two disadvantages in the use of the machine which are generally advanced. The first is that the machine is "blind"—it cannot watch the informant's articulation. True, but at the same time that it frees the field worker from the necessity of keeping a close phonetic record, it gives him a chance to watch the informant whenever he is speaking and to record pertinent externally observable peculiarities of his articulation.

It is also true that the machine cannot concentrate. There is no psychological filtering of the sounds of the interview; the machine's attitude is "etic"[4] in the most absolute sense. This should serve to remind us that we need field workers still. Any notion that a technique might be developed in which machines, tapes, and a questionnaire might be shipped to responsible lay volunteers on the spot (as word lists or dialect dictionary slips are now sent out) must be dismissed. The field worker is here to stay, but he has an important ally in the tape-recording machine, especially when he is beginning field work. The hazards of anxiety should be completely abolished. No longer is the new field worker under pressure to "hear" as much as possible, a circumstance often resulting in over-recording and sometimes involving wrong impressions. In-

20

spection of tapes has revealed some very interesting errors in transcription on the writer's part, errors which experience alone can never completely eliminate. The machine now provides a reliable check in the form of a complete and accessible parallel record.[5]

CONCLUSIONS

The result of proper adaptation of the electrical tape recording machine to dialect geography will not be a revolution. Although revision of the worksheets is implied, there is no reason to change the basic content or the basic techniques of interviewing. If the director of a regional survey wishes, he may sacrifice some of the time advantage in order to add new items of special regional usefulness. However, the established principle underlying all worksheets now in use on this continent, that of seeking maximum comparability of potentially related materials, must coninue.[6]

The general result of the adopted technique will be a refinement of accuracy and completeness in field recording. Old aims will be more readily achieved, and possibly, as experience eis gained, new applications, especially in the field of syntactic analysis, will be found for the material gathered.

Among the aims mentioned in the *Handbook of the Linguistic Atlas of New Eng!and* which could be fulfilled more completely through the use of the tape-recording machine are the obtaining of "natural unguarded responses", complete coverage of conversational forms, the literal preser.vation of intonation, stress, and slow and fast forms, as well as a complete record in every case of the manner of the response and the method used to elicit it.[7] In addition, quantity, stress, and pitch are recorded in a form which can be checked in the laboratory.

One burden is added by the advent of the electrical machine— a new stage of editing in which the tapes must be catalogued and inventoried. But when the wealth of material yielded, the assurance of accuracy, and the general effect upon rapport between worker and informant are considered, the general use of the electrical tape-recording machine in dialect surveys should prove advantageous to this department of linguistic study.

NOTES:

[1]Lester W. J. Seifert, "Methods and Aims of a Survey of the German Spoken in Wisconsin", **Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy**, XL, 201-210.

[2]Rex Wilson, "Is Your Dialect Showing?" **University of Toronto Alumni Bulletin** (April, 1951), 5.

[3]Hans Kurath and others. **Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England** (Providence, 1939), 149. "A reduced set of worksheets" is Kurath's designation. "Short worksheets" has come into common use since.

[4]K. L. Pike. **Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior**, preliminary edition (Glendale, Cal. 1954), passim. |The machine does not concern itself with anything but the raw phonetic data. The worker must make the phonetic observations where they are pertinent.|

[5]Kurath, op. cit., 52.

[6]Ibid., 148.

[7]Ibid., 45, 48.

OBITUARY

●

Albert Dauzat died suddenly on October 31, 1955, at the age of 78. One of the leading French linguists of this century, he was widely recognized as an authority in the fields of etymology, typonymy, and onomastics. Among his principal works are the following: *Histoire de da langue française* (1931), *Les Noms de lieux*, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française*, *Noms de famille de France*, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de famille et prénoms de France* (1951). He founded two reviews, *Le Français moderne*, in 1933, and, in 1947, *Onomastica*, later known as *La Revue internationale d'onomastique*. He wrote regularly for *Le Monde* and *Vie et Langage*.

Professor Dauzat was a member of the Canadian Linguistic Association from its inception.

22

Hav
English
Canadi
burst o
the ord
Cartwr
Isham'
(1863)
Qu'Ap
works
we env
for the
value,
sources
of a th
the risk
familia
but he
time in
of mor
more
overloo
anticip
be the
unders
ing, so
of the l
source

The
with t
Rather
chronol
linguist
c' Fren
States.
three c
sisting
either
recogni
of word
British

WHYS AND HOWS OF COLLECTING FOR THE DICTIONARY
OF CANADIAN ENGLISH

II. EXCERPTION OF QUOTATIONS

by

Charles J. Lovell, Illinois

Having decided to lend a hand with the Dictionary of Canadian English, one's first thought will be to read various items of Canadiana for the purpose of excerpting quotations. In his initial burst of enthusiasm, the volunteer is likely to tackle something on the order of the *Publications* of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, Cartwright's *Labrador Journal* (1792), Pennant's *Arctic Zoology*, Isham's *Observations on Hudson's Bay* (1743), Palliser's *Journals* (1863), or files of such pioneer newspapers as the *Loyalist* (York), *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, or Bob Edwards's *Calgary Eye Opener*. While works like these are ideal sources of citations for the dictionary we envisage, their every importance renders them unwise choices for the neophyte. It is not enough to select works of historical value, for mere mechanical examination of the most promising sources cannot be expected to yield optimum results in the absence of a thorough knowledge of the field of inquiry. Not only is there the risk that the unskilled researcher will fail to notice some unfamiliar words, illustrative of the life and thoughts of earlier periods, but he may also miss a few common ones.[1] Then, too, he may waste time in collecting irrelevant material.[2] Since the earlier examples of more settled words are ordinarily hardest to locate and, of course more prized, the consequences of an inexperienced researcher overlooking, say, an 1856 example of *Confederation* (for it was used anticipatively well before 1867) are rather more serious than would be the skipping of more recent words. The products of a disciplined understanding are superior to those of an uncultivated understanding, so it is to our helpers' advantage to learn as much as possible of the basic principles of lexical research before delving into scarcer source materials.

The Dictionary of Canadian English should not attempt to deal with the complete vocabulary of English-speaking Canadians. Rather, its objective should be to illustrate, through a variety of chronologically and geographically distributed quotations, the linguistic influences of Canada's British heritage, the assimilation of French, Indian and other cultures, and relations with the United States. This portion of the vocabulary can be broken down into three classes of words and phrases; the most extensive class consisting of terms common to American and Canadian English, which either do not enter into British English or which, when used, are recognized as transatlantic borrowings; the second class made up of words indigenous to Canada and more or less unknown to either British or American English; and the third class composed of

British words which have never gained ground in the United States. At first glance, such a vocabulary may appear to cover a wider range than necessary, yet the scope is narrower than that of the *DAE*, and is the only one deemed sufficient to answer the questions that may be put by Canadians, Britons and Americans concerning linguistic interrelationships.[3] Self-interest also dictates that the dictionary be as broad as possible in its appeal, to the end that sales in the Commonwealth nations and the United States may help defray expenses of publication, lowering the price at which the dictionary must be sold.

The making of a dictionary based upon historical principles is not unlike the working of a jigsaw puzzle, albeit on a vastly greater scale. Instead of sorting and putting together one or two hundred pieces strewn on the table before us, we will be called upon to assemble scores of thousands of citations, buried in literature scattered the length and breadth of Canada. An experienced lexical researcher, with an assistant to handle photostatic excerption and indexing, probably could locate 200,000 quotations, exemplifying perhaps 25,000 terms, in about two years, at a cost of around $16,000. Such a sampling would not only be quicker and more accurate than anything that might be performed by amateurs, but should be much more representative. However, historical lexicography is the neglected stepchild of the arts, so it is doubtful if we could soon find the money to finance professional procurement of the substance of the dictionary. Under the circumstances, it is up to those of us who desire a Dictionary of Canadian English to take the initiative, by volunteering our services as collectors and by recruitment of others. Once we have shown our faith, in laying the groundwork for a dictionary, we will be in a better position to make an appeal for funds to complete the editorial work.

The tools of research are simple enough, for all that is needed at the start is a supply of 4″ × 6″ white paper[4] (available in gummed pads at stationers and bookstores) and whatever newspapers, magazines and books may be at hand. Citations may be done in ink, if necessary, but typewritten slips are preferable, since they form suitable copy for the printer; longhand slips have the further disadvantage that errors may be introduced through misreading of scribbles by typists.[5] As for the materials to be studied for excerption, newspapers are usually prime sources, for everyday words like *baby sitter, soap opera, finalize, hat trick* and *snowmobile* generally gain currency in the public prints long before they attain to the literary standard. Among newspapers, country weeklies are often best; the weekly press, being largely local or regional in character, reflects aspects of everyday Canadian living that are of greater pertinency than the world affairs that bulk so large in metropolitan dailies.[6] In quoting from newspapers, the collector should take pains to avoid comic strips and syndicated columns emanating from the United States, as well as dispatches from Reuters and various American press associations; these may comprise as much as one-quarter of the contents of a big-town

paper. Popular magazines such as *Maclean's*, *Chatelaine*, *Liberty* and the *Montrealer* will prove excellent sources, but scholarly journals like the *Dalhousie Review* and *Queen's Quarterly* ordinarily have little to offer. The same holds true for most trade organs and technical publications, although farm papers and historical journals are generally good.

In solving a jigsaw puzzle, it is easiest to set aside groups of similar pieces, such as those showing grass, blue sky, tree foliage, rippling water, etc. Then, concentrating upon one small section at a time, we proceed to put the pieces together, *peu à peu*, until the picture eventually takes shape. In like manner, the most effective way of building a knowledge of the Canadian English vocabulary, as a prospective contributor of citations, is to focus one's attention upon one aspect at a time, as by taking up the words relating to a particular topic, such as politics, agriculture, mining, fisheries, hockey, the Northland, Indians. Let us suppose that the volunteer chooses politics for his first venture. In checking *Grit*, he will find that the *OED* traces this epithet for a Canadian *Liberal* or *Radical* to 1884, the original form being given as *Clear Grit*. (Later he may have the thrill of antedating this term by 30-odd years.) In the course of locating and fitting together these four "pieces"—*Grit*, *Liberal*, *Radical*, *Clear Grit*—others will turn up that "interlock," so to speak, such as *Liberalism*; *Liberal*, in the predicate; to vote *Liberal*; also attributives; *Liberal Party*, *Liberal convention*. The *CCF*, *Social Credit*, *Progressive Conservative* and other parties will call for similar study, during which many terms connected with the political arena will manifest themselves, such as *backbencher*, *riding*, *Hansard*, *M.L.A.*, *Parliament Hill*, *provincial cabinet*, *local parliament*, *federal constituency*, to *run* for office (American) versus to *stand* for office (British). More and more he will find that the vocabulary of politics shades into that of history, which in turn ties in with exploration, travels, geography, Indian lore, the fur trade, and other subjects. By noting the words that catch his interest, cross-checking their status in whatever dictionaries may be available, the collector should in time develop a keen perception of the value and significance of most terms; he will then be ready to canvass earlier, scarcer source materials, to extract their linguistic riches more skilfully and exhaustively than he could if he plunged into them without previous study. A carefully researched Dictionary of Canadian English might well become a literary landmark, its citations epitomizing the history and culture of the Canadian people.

Having gained an idea of what to work with, we may now consider how best to prepare the citations that will form the backbone of the dictionary. Explication of lexical methodology would require an extensive course of lectures, so all that can be done within present limits is to take up the main points, clarifying these by means of selective quotations gleaned for the prospective dictionary.

The general order and arrangement of citation slips is as follows:
(a) The catchword, which is placed in the upper left corner;

(b) Comments and suggestions that may be helpful to the editor, compressed into the upper right corner; (c) Appropriate bibliographical details, made up of the date, author's name, short title of source quoted, and page (and column, where called for), dropped about two double spaces below the catchword; (d) The citation itself starting on the line below; (e) Notations of the results of cross-checking in the *OED*, *DAE*, Mathew's *Dictionary of Americanisms*, Webster's *New International Dictionary* or other reference works, placed along the lower margin, from left to right.

1. Except for certain nouns, each catchword is marked to indicate its part of speech:

aggressive, adj.: hustling, energetic [Not in *OED*, *DA*, *OUD*]
1956 *Winnipeg Free Press* 19 Jan. 34/1
We require 2 salesmen! . . . Only aggressive men need apply.

service, v. [Not in *OED*, *DA OUD*]
1955 *News of North* (Yellowknife, N.W.T.) 18 Nov. 1/5
A new town house, available to water and sewer service, would be assessed at a much higher rate than duplicate property in a part of the town not serviced this way.

2. A noun is marked if it also occurs as another part of speech:

beef, v.: complain loudly [Not in *OED*, 1889 *DA*]
1953 *North Star* (Yellowknife, N.W.T.) Mar. 2/2
So think of these things when you look at the budget. Don't beef, don't complain—it's just money, don't grudge it.

beef, n.: ill-humored complaint [Not in *OED*, *DA*, *OUD*]
1955 *Alta. Home & School News* Nov.-Dec. 2/3
When you have specific questions, criticisms or recommendations (not just personal beefs, but from a group who have looked into the problem concerned) your representatives to the Curriculum Committees would be glad to hear from you.

3. Attributive, elliptic, figurative and transferred usages are indicated:

Lakehead, attrib. [Apparently not in any dictionary]
1954 *Charlottetown* (P.E.I.) *Patriot* 22 Dec. 3/5
The union demanded, besides the 10-cent hourly hazard pay, the same wages for Lakehead workers as prevail in Vancouver elevators.

rainbow, ellipt.: r. trout
c1945 *Sport Fishing Banff Nat. Pk.* 4
Fine sport is obtained in this lake with Rainbow and Cutthroat, using either fly or bait.

puck, fig.: ice hockey
1955 *Penticton* (B.C.) *Herald* 17 Mar. 5/3
There is no doubt in my mind—the Vees will bring this puck crown back to Canada.

Red Chamber, fig. (see quot.)
1955 *Chatelaine* Apr. 13
Canada's first woman senator is Mrs. Norman F. Wilson, who shattered a fifty-year-old tradition that had preserved the Red Chamber as an exclusively men's club when she stepped over the threshold in 1930.

26

Hansard, transf. [*OED, NID, ACD* limit to British Parliamentary records]

1955 *Nanton* (Alta.) *News* 3 Mar. 2/1

Hansard is sometimes interesting and sometimes dull but usually there is some point to members' speeches in the House of Commons.

4. Indexing is facilitated by brief definitions of words which carry more than one meaning:

banker: fisherman [1861 *DA*, Canada]

1907 MILLAIS *Newfoundland* 154

The fishermen of all lands have to encounter the perils of the deep, but none have to face the risks that the "bankers" do.

banker: vessel [Not in *DA*]

1954 *Fishermen's Advocate* (Port Union, Nfld.) 5 Feb. 7/3

While a few "bankers" of Newfoundland ownership operated on the Banks, all landings were made in Nova Scotian ports.

candy bar: confectionery counter [1943 *DA*, "piece of candy"]

1955 *Chronicle* (Shellbrook, Sask.) 4 May 1/1

The theatre is modern in every respect and has restroom facilities and candy bar.

indemnity: official salary [Not in *OED, NID, DA*]

1954 *Peace River Block News* (Dawson Creek, B.C.) 1 Apr. 2/2

We suspect that the heads of the Labor-Progressive Party know as well as anyone that the increase in Parliamentary indemnities would be strictly nominal compared with what they propose.

5. Nouns are not labelled when unlikely to be confused with other parts of speech:

puck

1955 *Whitehorse* (Y.T.) *Star* 4 Feb. 11/4

The first period was scoreless, with good defence on both teams keeping the puck going back and forth.

6. Catchwords employ the same spelling as in quotation, if variants remain in close alphabetical sequence:

seigneury [1895 *OED*, Canada]

1828 *Loyalist* (York) 27 Sep. 123/3

It has been stated by one of the witnesses, that under the proposed division, a disproportionable increase would have been given to the Representatives from the Seigneuries.

seigniory

1893 HALIBURTON *Bubbles of Canada* 44

All the fisheries within the seigniories contribute also to the lord's income, as he receives of the fish caught, or an equivalent in money for the same.

seignory

1827 *Canada Freeman* (York) 13 Dec. 4/4

The subscriber has lately opened at the Village of L'Orignal in the seignory of Longueuil, in the District of Ottawa, a Land Office for the purpose of transacting all matters relative to lands in that District.

7. In cases where the variants do not resemble modern spelling or are widely separated alphabetically, standard spelling is used, and the actual spelling parenthesized:

aboiteau (abbatteau) [Not in *OED, DA*]

1825 *Novascotian* (Halifax) 16 Mar. 92/2

Heretofore Abbatteaus have been constructed in too small a base, to admit of being narrowed sufficiently as the work rises to allow thereby a sufficient weight of water to lie upon the work to retain the same in its place.

Athabasca Indian (A'Thopuskow) [Not in *OED, DA*]

1776 *Cumberland House Jrnl.* 27 June

He says that he supposed there were an hundred Canoes of them, the chiefest part A'Thopuskow Indians, and the rest were only loaded with the Pedlers Furrs from the Upper House.

nitchie (neche): Indian [App. not in any dictionary]

1884 *Qu'Appelle Vidette* 20 Nov. 3/2

Father Lacombe has made application to the Indian department for permission to take some white children for a few years, to give the young neches a chance to learn the English language by mixing with the whites.

wendigo (Weendegoag) [Not in *OED, DA*]

1830 E. JAMES *Narr. John Tanner* 316

The Muskegoes, who inhabit the low and cheerless swamps on the borders of Hudson's Bay, and are themselves reproached by the other tribes as cannibals, are said to live in constant fear of the Weendegoag.

8. Two or more catchwords may be listed, alphabetically. Chief use of such slips is to serve as reminders of terms for which further evidence should be sought, since use of a single quotation to exemplify two or more terms is undesirable:[7]

avalanche lily

Indian paintbrush

1952 *Trail Riders Bull.* (Montreal) Dec. 6/2

Indian paint-brush glowed a deep crimson, and the grass was starred with white anemones and yellow avalanche lilies.

Cree: language

Mountaineer: Indian

Nascopies

Sauteux: language

1849 McLEAN *Notes* I. 305

The Nascopies, or mountaineers of Labrador, speak a mixture of Cree and Sauteux, the former predominating.

9. The upper right hand corner is used, as the occasion arises, for communications respecting distribution of localisms, clues to possible antedatings, etc.:

aboiteaux, pl. Century Dict. restricts to N.B., but have heard it in N.S. for many years.

1955 *Hants Jrnl.* (Windsor, N.S.) 13 Apr. 8/3

With these crude tools they erected dikes and aboiteaux which stood the might of Fundy tides for generations.

herring choker First writer app. speaks of N.B. and N.S., but N.S. editor takes it to refer to own people.

1899 *Yarmouth Telegram* 20 Oct. 1/1

I am down among the "herring chokers" and "blue noses" for a few weeks.

(*ibid.*) Happy the wearied globe-trotter and denizen of the "herring chokers" of Nova Scotia.

kero

1852

(hea

New
1922
The l
of Ol
way

salt o
1955
The
the fo
envir

10.
excerpte
publicat
consiste

HAT
The l
Philli

MAN
dustri
1954
Flon,
Winn

Repo
Accid
Comn
Quebe

11. E
volume
for muc
earliest
1956 *Ca*
Can. Da

12. I
name, u
library
Thus: 19
preferab
changes

13. G
or more

Only ex. in article; check lawsuit mentioned, Gesner vs Halifax Gas Co., initiated 1847, for antedating

1852 *Wkly. Globe* (Toronto) 4 June 1/7

(heading:) The Kerosene Gas.

New Canadian Source of quot. is Victoria Hayward's Romantic Canada
1922 in J. M. GIBBON *Canadian Mosaic* (1939) ix
The New Canadians, representing many lands and widely separated sections of Old Europe, have contributed to the Prairie Provinces a variety in the way of church architecture.

salt chuck Chinook jargon for ocean, common in B.C.
1955 *Mine-Mill Herald* (Toronto) Nov. 9/3
The unfortunates, while enebriated or day dreaming, just walked out of the fog or rain into the salt chuck, and kept on going, finding their thicker environment quite to their liking.

10. A detailed bibliographical slip is required for each source excerpted, showing the author, title of work, date and place of publication, and publisher. Works are cited as concisely as possible, consistent with clarity:

HATHEWAY, C. L.:
The History of New Brunswick, From Its First Settlement, James P. A. Phillips, Fredericton, 1846

> Cited as: 1846 HATHEWAY *Hist. N.B.*

MANITOBA. Department of Industry and Commerce. Bureau of Industrial Development:
1954 Facts About Flin Flon. An Industrial Survey of the Town of Flin Flon,
Winnipeg, 1954

> Cited as: 1954 *Facts About Flin Flon*

Reports of the Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into a Series of Accidents and Detentions o nthe Great Western Railway, Canada West, By Commission Bearing Date Nov. 3, 1854.
Quebec, 1855

> Cited as: 1854 *Accidents on Great West. Ry.*

11. Historical dictionaries have usually cited periodicals by volume and page, rather than by month and page, but this makes for much extra work when it becomes necessary to ascertain the earliest among a group of quotations dated the same year. Thus: 1956 *Can. Dairy & Ice Cream Jrnl.* Mar. 42/2 is preferable to 1956 *Can. Dairy & Ice Cream Jrnl.* XXXV. No. 3. 42/2.

12. In citing periodicals which have undergone changes of name, use the title prevailing at the time cited, even though the library may catalogue and label it under the most recent title. Thus: 1906 *Can. Forestry Jrnl.* and 1922 *Ill. Can. Forestry Mag.* are preferable to: 1906 and 1922 *Ill. Can. Forest & Outdoors*, since changes of title will be brought together in the bibliography.

13. Quotations are not to be limited to a single sentence, if two or more sentences are required to convey a clear idea of the usage

of each term:

outage

1955 *Tweed* (Ont.) *News* 14 Apr. 10/6

Defective lamps will be replaced on Friday of each week. To repor[t]
outage Phone 207 Before Friday Each Week.[8]

Herring Choker: New Brunswicker

1954 *Fundy Fisherman* (Black's Harbour, N.B.) 3 Mar. 4/4

[But talking to New Brunswick senators (male) some of them rathe[r]
fancy that Premier Hugh John can make or has made a better dicker wit[h]
Maurice Duplessis.] These Herring Choker senators point out tha[t]
Duplessis has already peddled a lot of horse power to Ontario and inde[ed]
is selling plenty to Premier Frost et al. right now.[9]

14. Incomplete examples, in no wise desirable as quotations fo[r]
the dictionary, must be collected, especially in the earlier stage[s,]
for the sake of recording vocabulary. Classified ads and technica[l]
words, while excellent hunting grounds for words, often furnish bu[t]
sorry examples, selective research then being brought into pla[y]
to locate fuller, more interesting quotations:

tullibee [1888 *OED*, N. Amer.]

1955 *Free Press Wkly. Prairie Farmer* 7 Dec. 25/5

Nice round Tullibee 8c.

1954 *Facts About Flin Flon* 11

Whitefish, pickerel, trout, tullibee, and goldeyes are the most importan[t]
species caught.

1836 RICHARDSON *Fauna Boreali-Amer.* II. 201

Salmo (Coregonus) Tullibee. (Richardson.) The Tullibee.

1823 J. FRANKLIN *Narr. II* (App.) 711

The Cree name of this fish, ottonneebees, has been corrupted by the trade[rs]
into tullibee.

15. When writers introduce unfamiliar terms they often paus[e]
to explain them. Such examples should be copied, to aid the edito[r]
in framing definitions, additional quotations being taken for th[e]
purpose of exemplification:

Bennett buggy (def.) [This slip for editor's benefit]

1955 *Maclean's* 19 Mar. 57/3

Others removed the engines from their cars and hitched a team of hors[es]
on the front. This contraption was called a Bennett buggy after the ma[n]
who was unfortunate enough to be prime minister during the earl[y]
Thirties. (*ibid.*)

41/2 We could even smile at the sight of a Bennett buggy, a car drawn b[y]
a team of horses because the farmer couldn't afford to buy gas.

Bennett buggy [This slip for dictionary]

1955 *Maclean's* 19 Mar. 57/3

Farmers with Bennett buggies, townspeople with wheelbarrows an[d]
children's wagons lined up at the railway sidings to get their share.

16. Etymologies, however far-fetched, form an interesting par[t]
of word-histories and are in all cases to be recorded:

Canada (etym.)

1789 *Nova-Scotia Mag.* Aug. 81/1

Canada. The original of the name is uncertain; some say it was name[d]

from Monsieur Cane, who early sailed into the river; If so, O caprice! why should so obscure a man (his voyage is not even mentioned in history) give name to New-France, as it is called.

Canada (etym.)
1896 E. T. D. CHAMBERS *Ouananiche* 39
"Kanatats! Kanatats."—according to Father Arnaud, "They are strangers," or "Who are they"—exclaimed the aboriginal inhabitants of what is now Quebec when they caught sight of the first European arrivals in the St. Lawrence; and "Kanata," or "Canada," was thus understood by the newcomers to be the name of the country, and was so applied.

17. The importance of cross-checking in dictionaries cannot be too highly stressed, it being the chief factor in developing a knowledge of the specialized Canadian English vocabulary. Paradoxically, the volunteer will be most successful whenever he fails to find a suspected Canadianism in any dictionary. It is surprising how many common terms, such as *Confederation, Maritimer, faceoff, broken front, turr, bedlamer, separate school, nitchie,* etc., are absent from a dozen leading dictionaries. However, it is in the process of checking upon various lesser words, also unnoticed by lexicographers, that the volunteer will learn the chief lesson of collecting: that the meanings of many words are not readily apparent until several examples are at hand for comparison. He will then realize the wisdom of multiplying instances and of enhancing his citations by marginalia.

Because of our interest in establishing dates of usage, the *OED, DAE* and *DA* will naturally form the best sources for cross-checking. However, all major dictionaries will prove of some use, while Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* and the *Glossaire du parler français au Canada* occasionally have information elsewhere unavailable:

bechon
1879 *Sask. Herald* (Battleford) 12 Jan. 3/2
FOUND, this fall, seven horses [including] one bechon, white face and white belly.

Not in *OED, DAE, DA, NID, Cent., ACD*
"Maltese cat," "term of endearment" in *Littre, Harrap's Fr. Dict.,* etc.
1930 *Gloss. du parl. franc. au Canada:* "cheval sauvage"

glitter, v.
1955 *Eve. Telegram* (St. John's) 14 Mar. 3/5
The highway from St. John's to Carbonear, glittered over early this morning, was reported safe about 1030 a.m.

Not in *OED, DAE, DA, NID, Cent., ACD*
EDD: "glidder, frosted or glazed surface," Dev. 1893, Corn. 1896; gliddered, v. Dev. 1867

hog grieve
1829 *Colonial Patriot* (Pictou, N.S.) 28 Jan. 5/3
We hope at the present sitting of the Session's measures will be taken to compel the Hog grieves to do their duty.

Not in *OED, DAE, DA*
Cf. hog reeve: 1689 *OED,* N. Eng.; 1636 *DA*
Cf. grieve: sheriff, farm overseer, in *OED*

31

1For instance, the **Dictionary of American English** does not trace **Santa Claus** beyond 1823, one of its readers having missed 1807 evidence in Washington Irving's **Salmagundi**. Even more serious lapses occur in the Oxford English Dictionary, where a single quotation of American **blight** (an insect pest) is dated 1882, although its bibliography lists works of 1829, 1840, 1845 and 1847, all of which employ the term conspicuously.

2A university student, excerpting an article on California history for the **DAE**, frittered away time upon such utterly useless terms as **archives, barracks, belfry, breviary, brutish, decimed, feudal, heathen, infirmary, jurist, nomadic, paganism, pantaloons, patriarchal, privateer, protectorate, restive, rosary, tallow** and **trinket**, while being blind to such obvious Americanisms as **adobe, atole, carajo, coyote, Golden Gate, gringo, Mission Indian, New Englander, Pacific Coast, pinole, pueblo, quarter section, rancher, tortilla, tule basket** and **Yankee**.

3There are few Canadian texts the wordage of which will run to as much as three per cent of terms quotable within the limits here suggested. Vivid hockey writeups and stories of pioneer days commonly approach this maximum, whereas articles of a technical or scholarly nature rarely contain more than a fraction of one per cent of Canadianisms, using the latter term in its broadest sense.

4Sir William Craigie, editor of the DAE, thriftily took down hundreds of citations on the backs of old envelopes.

5Whereas the OED and DAE were prepared mainly from longhand slips, compositors nowadays expect copy to be typed. For instance, the DAE's entries of **bog potato** and "**hog**" potato stemmed from different interpretations of a single citation, the cacography of the excerptor being at fault.

6Toronto papers might consider a society cocktail party to be "big" news, while lacking space to report a **ladies' aid meeting, box social, quilting bee** or **hayride**: items of interest to the rural press—and our dictionary. Regular dictionaries, in utilizing but the most accessible sources, sometimes miss a number of rather common words. Thus, terms like **Queen's Scout** and **to fly up**, of known importance in the Boy Scout and Girl Guide movements, are absent from the authoritative Oxford Universal Dictionary (third edition, revised, 1955). While more than 3,400,000 boys are enrolled in the Boy Scouts of America, none of their ranks, from **tenderfoot** to **Eagle Scout**, are included among the 132,000 entries in the American College Dictionary.

7For instance, the DAE and DA use the same quotation to exemplify **namaycush, salmon trout** and **tuladi**.

8The usual meaning of **outage** is either a "power failure" or a "scheduled interruption in the transmission of electrical energy."

9Here is an excellent example of a word requiring an accumulation of instances for its proper definition. Berrey and Van den Bark's American Thesaurus of Slang defines **Herring Choker**, as "a Scandinavian," while Swan's Anglo-American Dictionary characterizes it as an Americanism for "Scandinavian or Prince Edward Islander."

BOOK REVIEWS

Randolph Quirk and C. L. Wrenn, **An Old English Grammar**, Methuen, 1955; pp. x + 166.

Recent authors of Old English grammars seem to be more aware than their predecessors of the needs of the student who undertakes the study of the language chiefly with 'literary' interests. To mention only two, Professor Norman Davis, in his revision of Sweet's Primer (Oxford, 1955) provided a fuller treatment of syntax than is usual in 'introductions' to Old English; and his example has been followed by Professor G. L. Brook in **An Introduction to Old English** (Manchester, 1955), which has the additional advantage that it contains a reasonably full account of the essentials of phonology. But neither of these grammars tries to provide much more than the essentials necessary to enable the student to cope with the elementary prose texts which each contains, or at most the simpler texts in more advanced readers.

The authors of the volume under review have designed their book 'for the literary student of English, who has long been neglected in favour of his philologically inclined colleague and who is felt to be in need of a single compact grammar which will put the emphasis where he needs it most and serve as a companion to all his undergraduate studies in Old English'. There are five sections to the book: Introduction, Inflexions, Syntax, Word-Formation, and Phonology. The grammar differs significantly from most existing grammars, and nearly everywhere for the better.

As their basis, the authors take the Classical Old English of about 1000 A.D., that is, the form in which most of the important literary documents have survived, rather than the early West Saxon of conventional grammars. The Introduction is a really useful, concise account of the language and its ancestry, and also of the kinds of evidence on which grammatical descriptions are based. It is typical of this humane book that after an outline of the sounds of Old English there should be illustrated by a phonetic transcript of the opening of the **Beowulf**. The treatment of Inflexions may at first give pause to readers brought up on the older grammars, for in it the authors have often replaced the older categories and classifications wherever these might mislead the non-philological specialist unfamiliar with the structure of the 'Germanic dialects' as a whole. No doubt the new arrangements can only be tested adequately by classroom use over a period of a year or two; this reviewer, after two careful readings, can find no alteration not justified by the interests of clarity. The authors have adopted these changes only where necessary to the kind of students for whom they write. The typography of the book, a joy to the eye, is used to particularly good effect in this section, where the most important paradigms are printed in bold type.

Alterations in the traditional classifications and technical terms have also been introduced in the section on Phonology, and the results fully justify the authors' boldness. Sounds and sound-changes are not, as too often in Old English grammars, presented as arbitrary, and rather dull, phenomena, but as part of a language once living, and the medium of a great literature. For the student Professors Quirk and Wrenn have in mind, there is no better outline of the subject; and for advanced students there is additional information printed in smaller type.

It is the section on Syntax which is the greatest single attraction in this new grammar. For once a publisher's blurb does not exaggerate: it is 'the only grammar which presents the syntax with ample, practical illustration'. These illustrations of Old English usage are drawn chiefly from texts included in the readers of Sweet and Wyatt, and from the **Beowulf**. Clearly arranged, and lucidly explained, Professors Quirk and Wrenn provide, I believe for the first time, material which will enable Old English to be taught as a language, and not as a set of arbitrary rules which the student is required to 'get up'

33

while he crams his Bright or Sweet or **Beowulf**. It is the best grammar for undergraduate use now available.

The index covers both words and subjects. It would be useful if the authors would include, in the second edition, a separate glossary of technical terms. There are a few, admittedly minor, blemishes of style in the Introduction, and a misprint on p. 11, line 10.

G. M. Story,
Memorial University,
Newfoundland.

L. A. Belisle, **Dictionnaire général de la langue française au Canada**, en cours de publication, 4 rue Saint-Jacques, Québec.

Il est agréable de constater que des non-linguistes s'intéressent de plus en plus à la dialectologie. L'un d'eux, Monsieur Belisle, n'a même pas hésité à se lancer dans la fabrication et la publication d'un dictionnaire dont neuf fascicules sont déjà parus, totalisant 576 pages (A—Grand-sleigh). On ne peut qu'admirer un tel courage quand on sait ce qu'un dictionnaire demande de travail.

La particularité du dictionnaire de Monsieur Belisle est d'incorporer des canadianismes au vocabulaire du français commun. Pour l'auteur, un canadianisme est un "mot, locution d'origine canadienne-française".

Pour mener à bien un tel dictionnaire conçu d'après un tel principe, l'auteur travaille seul. Il n'a pas recours aux ressources de l'abondant fichier de la Société du Parler français au Canada, contrairement à la supposition de certains linguistes (Voir J.-P. Vinay, dans la Newsletter de la Modern Language Association, **North-American French Language and Literature**, Vol. I, no I, Dec. 1955. p. 4).

En feuilletant le dictionnaire de Monsieur Belisle on ne peut qu'être frappé par le nombre considérable de canadianismes qu'il signale. Cependant, en y regardant de près, on s'aperçoit vite que nombre de canadianismes ne le sont que pour l'auteur du dictionnaire. Des recherches même sommaires dans le gross Littré, dans le **Larousse du XXe siècle** ou même dans le Petit Larousse Illustré font diminuer considérablement le nombre de ces canadianismes. À titre indicatif seulement, voici quelques mots déjà consignés dans le Larousse du XXe siècle: américain (s.m.), arrosage, brandy, brocheuse, capote, doublé (une automobile), **emboutailleur**, etc. Le Littré renferme: boire (ce n'est pas la mer à . . .), **bourreau des arbres, carvelle, dynamiteur** (dans Supplément du Littré), etc. Quant à filer en douce et se la couler douce, ces deux expressions figurent dans **Le langage populaire** (celui du peuple de Paris) de Bauche, édition de 1920. Il en est de même de **bourreau de travail** et de **brise-fer** qui figurent dans les textes littéraires du 19e siècle. L'auteur semble ignorer qu'**avicole** fait depuis longtemps partie du français commun, qu'il y a actuellement en France des vétérinaires avicoles, que ce mot figure dans le Dictionnaire d'aviculture de G. Lissot qui a également publié chez Flammarion les **consultations avicoles**.

Si un canadianisme est un "mot ou une locution d'origine canadienne-française", pourquoi **barer** (donner, apporter), **bec** (baiser), **bein** (bien), **dret** (droit), **s'assire, partir en compagne, s'abrier, s'écarter, aboiteau, aneuiller** figurent-ils comme canadianismes? Ils sont d'origine canadienne-française! Allons donc! Nous avons là quelques-unes des milliers et des milliers de mots ou de formes apportés de France par les colons venus s'établir au Canada il y a deux ou trois siècles. Pour s'en rendre compte, il suffit de consulter quelques-uns des nombreux glossaires français dont Von Wartburgh a dressé la bibliographie en 1934, de consulter les anciens dictionnaires français comme le Godefroy, le Cotgrave, le Huguet le Furetière, le Trévoux ou encore l'**Atlas linguistique de la France**.

L'auteur aurait pu se contenter, dans bien des cas, de consulter le **Glossaire du Parler français au Canada** publié en 1930. Chaque article donne quand il y a lieu, des indications sommaires mais précieuses sur l'origine des

mots ou des expressions étudiés. Alors pourquoi parler de canadianisme lorsqu'il s'agit simplement d'un mot ou d'une expression dialectale ou patois français?

Pour être juste, il faut reconnaître que l'auteur s'est servi du Glossaire, mais d'une façon qui mérite quelques mots d'explication. Il arrive qu'un canadianisme soit suivi du sigle (Gl.): l'auteur répète alors la définition et l'exemple du Glossaire. Cependant, à en juger par le nombre de sigles (Gl.), le Glossaire serait d'une pauvreté décourageante. Heureusement, en y regardant d'un peu plus près, l'impression change. Un bref échantillonnage éclairera singulièrement sur la façon de procéder de l'auteur. Prenons d'abord les cinq premières pages de la lettre A. Le sigle (Gl.) n'apparaît qu'une seule fois: après a, alle (elle). Il n'apparaît après aucun des mots suivants qui pourtant figurent au Glossaire: à, s'abander, abatage, abatis, abattre, abîmage, aboiteau, abolir, d'abord, d'abord que, about, aboutant, abouter, aboutir, âbre, abrier, s'abrier. Pourtant, quelle étrange ressemblance entre ce que l'on trouve dans le Glossaire et dans le dictionnaire. La préposition à du dictionnaire comporte 5 exemples dont 4 sont exactement ceux du Glossaire. Le Glossaire définit s'abander: s'associer, faire bande, s'attrouper. Ex.: S'abander avec des coquins. Le dictionnaire définit s'abander: faire bande, s'associer, s'attrouper. Ex.: S'abander avec des voyous. Même façon de procéder dans les cinq premières pages de la lettre C. Le sigle (Gl.) ne figure que deux fois: après cabouron et cage. Il n'apparaît devant aucun des 21 autres canadianismes figurant déjà au Glossaire et dont les définitions et les exemples sont la plupart du temps copiés presque textuellement. On chercherait en vain le mode de distribution du sigle (Gl.). C'est à y perdre son latin.

En incorporant dans un même dictionnaire les mots de la langue commune et les mots dialectaux ou patois, l'auteur a réuni deux éléments qui ont toujours semblé incompatibles aux auteurs de dictionnaires. Résultat: le dictionnaire de Monsieur Belisle est à la fois un mauvais dictionnaire général et un mauvais glossaire.

Comme glossaire, il est en général moins complet que le Glossaire du Parler français au Canada tant par le nombre de mots qu'il contient que par les renseignements qu'il fournit sur chaque mot. De plus, aujourd'hui, on ne conçoit pas un glossaire qui ne tiendrait pas compte de la répartition géographique des mots. Or le dictionnaire de Monsieur Belisle ne contient aucun renseignement sur la répartition géographique ni non plus sur les variantes phonétiques.

Enfin, c'est un mauvais dictionnaire général. Les éducateurs hésiteront sans doute à le mettre entre les mains de leurs élèves. En effet, comment ces derniers feront-ils la part entre l'ivraie et le bon grain? Comment pourront-ils savoir qu'ils peuvent écrire leur langue en employant bordée de neige et comté (circonscription électorale), deux canadianismes, mais non en employant dompe et dotcher, deux autres canadianismes? On répondra peut-être que l'auteur indique l'origine anglaise des deux derniers mots. Mais comté, avec le sens qu'il a au Canada, vient aussi de l'anglais (county). Alors? L'usager pourra débrouiller tout cela? Ne soyons pas naïfs.

Le dictionnaire de Monsieur Belisle reste une oeuvre prématurée, un guide peu sûr que l'on ne pourra manier qu'avec beaucoup de précautions. En voulant faire à la fois glossaire et un dictionnaire général de la langue, l'auteur a donné naissance à quelque chose d'informe et d'hybride.

Gaston Dulong,
Faculté des Lettres,
Université Laval, Québec

René Charbonneau, **The Palatalization of T/D in French-Canadian—A Study In Experimental Phonetics**, a publication of the University of Montreal's Section of Linguistics, Philology and Experimental Phonetics, Series: II, No. 3 (1955).

Why, some students of French might ask, should another student of the language spend several years, aided by the Canadian Humanities Research Council, to prepare a work of almost 150 pages on the "palatalization" of t/d in Canadian-French? And does the conclusion that this "palatalization" does not, in fact, take place warrant such industry? In our opinion, it most certainly does; the so-called "palatalization" has been considered a major phenomenon of Canadian-French and until now we have lacked a first-class study of it.

Father René Charbonneau's research is restricted to an examination of the Montreal region in particular; we shall have to wait for Gaston Dulong's linguistic atlas to know more completely the extent of this special pronunciation of [t] and [d], which has brought considerable criticism and inaccurate description of Canadian-French.

A very clear introduction renders this work comprehensible to the least informed of language students. The author accepts nothing on hearsay, leaves nothing to the imagination, re-examines and more precisely defines the phonemes and terms involved: "assibilation", "palatalization", "mouillure", "sifflant", etc. The question whether [ts]-[dz] is a single or composite articulation, as the author says, is not one to be settled by guess-work or by ear. It is a problem for experimental phonetics.

The examination of this physiological occurrence begins with the registering on a kymograph of several hundred words and consonantal groups containing [t/d] in initial, final, intervocalic, accentuated and unaccentuated positions. The graph and data of each registration are presented. It is principally observed, by this method, that [i] and [y] with [t] and [d] could bring the point of articulation into the mediopalatal region, the position which favours a palatalization of these occlusives; and this displacement is visibly characterized on the graphs by a slow off-glide of the tongue. The fabricated consonantal groups used, with [t] and [d] in unaccentuated syllables, are less revealing because of technical and psychological difficulties in testing them.

Employing a large drum, the author studied [t] and [d] in detail, with identical vowels at the beginning or end of words, words placed in a similar sonoric context and offering the three phases of the occlusive in an intervocalic position (ita, ida, etc.). There, as with the small drum, "palatalization" is most evident with [di]-[dy]-[ti]-[ty]. The author also establishes lists of final and initial vowels in the order of their influence on [t] and [d].

In order to verify the phenomenon physiologically, some 60 words are tested in an artificial palate or palatogramme. Here, [t/d] in initial and intervocalic, tonic and accentuated, and final—preceded by a vowel, show no sign of the phenomenon observed earlier! There is, then, for the palatalized sounds a normal place of articulation: the centre of the palate-roof; and, although with the palatogramme something similar to the gentle-off-glide that characterizes the palatalized consonant was heard, a palatalization did not take place. (Should the author then modify the title of his book?)

We can conclude that the slow off-glide, the progressive unfastening ("décollement") of the tongue from the palate, which characterizes a true palatalization, has been compensated by an acoustic analogy in the Canadian-French examined. That is to say, the French-Canadians in question must have attempted to reproduce a sound that recalled to them, acoustically, genuine palatalizations, and in so doing have lost the original tongue-palate contact; instead, they have a slower relaxing of the tongue in substitute regions. It is only in this comparison with the "genuine" seventeenth-century "mouillure" that the reader hesitates before an element of conjecture in the experiment; but this is well supported by the preliminary discussion and the conclusion of the kymograph studies. Having accepted them, we must give credit and credibility to the author in his final conclusions. We are, after all, in the field of experimental phonetics, and this method alone can honestly offer such

conclusions: the palatalized consonants of the seventeenth-century and affricate consonants of modern French-Canadian are similar in sound, but are physiologically very different.

The author summarizes and concludes with some valuable observations on the manner and nature of assibilation and the complex problem of the geographical distribution of the phenomenon.

The experiment may seem lengthy to the reader because of the completeness of detail, even of insignificant tests and negative conclusions. It is, because of this, a solid piece of work, with many interesting sidelights besides the main observation mentioned here. The work is indicative of the level of research being done by the department in Montreal under the direction of Mr. J. —P. Vinay, who, by the way, supervised the presentation of Father Charbonneau's important contribution to Canadian phonetic studies.

[Note: this book is in French, with the original title **La palatalisation de t/d en Canadian français.**]

C. E. Moore,
University of Alberta.